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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	DS-00
	EUR-01	FDRE-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-19
	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01
	PM-02	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-03	SNP-00	SP-00	SR-00
	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/049W	

-----ADB6BD 311345Z /38

O 311342Z MAR 93
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3489
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
USCINCEUR VAHINGEN GE //ECJ5-P/ETCC// PRIORITY
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 01375

DEPT FOR AF/C, DS/I/CT, AND RP
DEPT PASS AID/AFR/EA AND OFDA/AFR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PINS, PGOV, PREL, MOPS, RW
SUBJECT: GOR INTELLIGENCE ON POSSIBLE RPF ATTACK
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REF: KIGALI 1364

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY. RWANDAN MILITARY INTELLIGENCE SUPPORTS
THE THEORY THAT THE RPF IS PREPARING FOR A MASSIVE,
DECISIVE ATTACK, WITH THE GOAL OF TAKING KIGALI. THE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: CHARLES L. DARIS
DATE/CASE ID: 1 APR 2003 200203990

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CHIEF OF MILITARY INTEL. THINKS THAT THE TIMING OF THE ATTACK COULD BE AS SOON AS APRIL 4 OR APRIL 8/9; THAT STALLING IN ARUSHA IS PART OF THE RPF GRAND STRATEGY; AND THAT THE RPF GIVES NO THOUGHT TO THE MASSIVE HUMAN COST WHICH COULD RESULT FROM THE TAKING OF KIGALI. [REDACTED] SOURCE GIVES CREDENCE TO THE INTELLIGENCE REPORTS. THE GOR MILITARY INTEL. CHIEF SEEMS RESIGNED TO A MAJOR DEFEAT IN THE DAYS TO COME. END SUMMARY.

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3. AS A FOLLOW-UP TO AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH DEFENSE MINISTER JAMES GASANA ON MAR. 30, ECONOFF MET WITH GENERAL STAFF J-2 CHIEF OF INTELLIGENCE LTC. ANATOLE NSENGIYUMVA ON MAR. 31. NSENGIYUMVA OFFERED THE FOLLOWING DETAILS FROM MILITARY INTELLIGENCE DATA AND ANALYSIS RE: A POSSIBLE IMMINENT RPF ATTACK.

THE STRATEGY

4. THE J-2 CLAIMED THAT THE RPF IS IMPLEMENTING THE FOLLOWING MILITARY STRATEGY:

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-- STEP 1: EXECUTED FEB 8 TO 22. ATTACK ALONG THE FRONT IN ORDER TO PUSH GOR FORCES AWAY FROM THE FEB 7 FRONT LINE, MORE OR LESS SURROUND BYUMBA AND RUHENGIRI TOWNS, AND POSITION FORCES FOR EXECUTION OF STEP 2.

-- KEY GOAL: POSITION FORCES TO THE NORTH AND EAST OF RUHENGIRI.

-- OPERATIONAL PROBLEMS: GOR FORCES IN CENTER OF COUNTRY FELL BACK TOO FAST, ALLOWING RPF TO ADVANCE AS FAR SOUTH AS TUMBA, 27 KMS FROM KIGALI. BATTLE LINES BECAME TOO LONG, REQUIRING VIRTUALLY ALL RPF FORCES TO MASS ALONG THE FRONT, STRETCHING SUPPLY LINES, AND LEAVING NO SIGNIFICANT FORCES IN THE REAR.

-- SOLUTION: ACCEPT DAR ES SALAAM REQUIREMENT TO PULL BACK FROM MAR. 17 POSITIONS. SINCE TOTAL PULLBACK IMPOSSIBLE TO VERIFY, RPF WITHDRAWS FROM FORWARD POSITIONS TO REAR AREAS FOR EASIER RESUPPLY,

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MAINTAINS STRONG PRESENCE NORTH AND WEST OF RUHENGERI
(IN VOLCANO FOOTHILLS), AND ON THREE SIDES OF BYUMBA.

-- STEP 2: TO BE EXECUTED IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE.
MASS ATTACK SOUTHWARD FROM POSITIONS NORTH AND WEST
OF RUHENGERI. CUT THE RUHENGERI - GISENYI ROAD AT
MUKAMIRA, TAE PRESIDENT'S HOME COMMUNE OF KARAGO.
SURROUND, CAPTURE OR KILL, AND THUS NEUTRALIZE
BETWEEN 7 AND 10 BATTALIONS OF GOR'S BEST FORCES.
ATTAIN MAJOR PSYCHOLOGICAL VICTORY BY TAKING
PRESIDENT'S HOME AREA; GISENYI AND RUHENGERI FALL BY
THEMSELVES.

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-- NEXT, CLOSE THE LOOP ON BYUMBA, TRAPPING GOR
FORCES IN TOWN, GAINING CONTROL OF GATUNA - KIGALI
ROAD TO SOUTH OF BYUMBA TOWN.

-- ATTACK EASTWARD THROUGH NGARAMA TOWARD GABIRO,
TAKING RWAMAGANA - KAGITUMBA ROAD.

-- LASTLY, AFTER RAPID RESUPPLY VIA PAVED ROADS FROM
CYAMIKA, GATUNA, AND KAGITUMBA, AND NEUTRALIZATION OF
SOME 15 BATTALIONS OF GOR FORCES, STRIKE SOUTHWARD

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FROM RUHENGERI, BYUMBA AND GABIRO TO TAKE KIGALI.

THE INTELLIGENCE

5. J-2 BACKED UP MINISTER GASANA'S POINTS (REFTEL)
BY STATING THAT REPORTS AS RECENT AS MAR. 30 SHOWED
THE MOVEMENT OF HEAVY ARTILLERY INTO RUHENGERI
PRBFECTURE AT KIDAHU. THIS INCLUDES 122 MM ARTILLERY
TOWED BEHIND TRUCKS. A GROUP OF APPROXIMATELY 80
UNIFORMED RPF WERE ALLEGEDLY SEEN MOVING FROM KIDAHU
TOWARD KINIGI (APPROX. TWO PLATOONS, OR A SHORT
COMPANY). THE RPF IS REPORTED TO BE MOVING MORE

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TROOPS AND WEAPONS THROUGH UGANDA TO KISORO ON THE UGANDAN SIDE OF THE VOLCANOES. LASTLY, THE RPF IS EMGAGING IN MASSIVE RESUPPLY VIA BOTH CYANIKA AND GATUNA.

THE PRETEXT

6. THE PRETEXT ASSUMED FOR THE ATTACK COULD BE A BREAKDOWN IN THE ARUSHA TALKS, WITH THE RPF BLAMING THE GOR FOR LACK OF FLEXIBILITY ON THE SUBJECT OF PROPORTIONS WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES.

TIMING

7. THE ATTACK MUST TAKE PLACE BEFORE THE ARUSHA
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TALKS GET CLOSE TO THE SIGNING OF A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE AGREEMENT (THUS RECENT RPF STALLING), AND BEFORE ANY INTERNATIONAL FORCE IS IN PLACE, EITHER ON THE UGANDA - RWANDA BORDER OR IN THE BUFFER ZONE. J-2 CLAIMED THAT THE RPF HAS HAD A TENDENCY TO ATTACK AT THE END OF THE WEEK, ON THE FULL MOON. SUNDAY, APRIL 4, OR THURSDAY/FRIDAY, APRIL 8-9, WOULD BE PROPITIOUS.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONUNDRUM

G. WHEN ASKED HOW THE RPF COULD CONSIDER THE TAKING OF KIGALI, WHEN ALL OBSERVERS AND MOST RWANDANS ASSUME THAT SUCH AN EVENT WOULD LEAD TO MASSACRES ON A MASSIVE SCALE OF TUTSIS COUNTRY-WIDE, THE J-2 STATED THAT SUCH LOSS OF LIFE DOES NOT CONCERN THE RPF. IN THE RPF'S VIEW, HE SAID, TUTSIS WHO DID NOT FLEE THE COUNTRY WITHIN THE LAST 30 YEARS ARE COMPLICITOUS WITH THE HUTU REGIMES, HAVING ENRICHED THEMSELVES AND PARTICIPATED IN THE DIVISION OF SPOILS LEFT BEHIND BY THE REFUGEES. HUTUS ALIGNED WITH THE MDR WILL HAVE TO BE ELIMINATED; GIVEN THE PARTY'S ROOTS WITHIN THE PARMEHUTU PARTY. THOSE ALIGNED WITH THE MRND WILL ALSO HAVE TO BE ELIMINATED. WHEN THE

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KILLING IS DONE, THERE WILL STILL BE PEOPLE LEFT; THE
RPF'S ONLY CONCERN IS THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEE
COMMUNITY TO ITS BIRTH RIGHT.

IS THE INTELLIGENCE WORTH ANYTHING?

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9. IN FOLLOW-ON DISCUSSIONS, [REDACTED] STATED
THAT HE CONSIDERED GOR MILITARY INTELLIGENCE TO BE
ABOUT B5 PER CENT RELIABLE. WITHOUT THE QUESTION
BEING ASKED, HE BROUGHT UP THE DATES OF APRIL 4 AND
APRIL 8/9 FOR A POSSIBLE ATTACK.

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COMMENT

10. THE FRENCH EVALUATION OF GOR INTEL. CREDIBILITY AT 85 PERCENT IS AT LEAST A BIT BIASED--SOME OF THIS INFORMATION COMES FROM FRENCH SOURCES. THE POSSIBILITY THAT THIS INTEL. READOUT IS BASED ON RPF DISINFORMATION CANNOT BE RULED OUT. SUCH REPORTS PUT EXTRAORDINARY PRESSURE ON THE GOR TO TRY TO PUSH THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD. WHEN ASKED IF THE RPF IS CAPABLE OF EXECUTING THE STRATEGY OUTLINED ABOVE, THE J-2 GAVE AN UNQUALIFIED YES. HE GAVE THE IMPRESSION OF BEING EXTREMELY CONCERNED, TO THE POINT OF BEING ALMOST RESIGNED TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A SERIOUS MILITARY DEFEAT IN THE DAYS TO COME. END COMMENT.
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